

MONKEYWRENCH DOWNUNDER

**ISSUE
FOUR**



**Energy Crisis - Ecological Crisis
Capitalist Crisis - Social War**



Monkeywrench Downunder - Issue 4 – July 2013

**energy crises -- social war -- ecological-crises -
capitalist crisis**

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Social-war, Energy, Climate-war email–list invitation

The capitalist world-system has entered a multiple crisis: (1) energy security, (2) climate stability, (3) food production, (4) profits (5) political legitimacy, and (6) a crises of work. Even in the view of the mainstream it has become clear, that the financial crisis has turned into an economic crisis threatening political legitimacy in many countries. Yet at the same time, other aspects of the multiple crises are ignored. Many radicals are not fully aware that peak oil – the maximum of global oil production – might already be reached or will be reached in the near future. It is argued that other resource peaks follow not far behind. Hardly anyone draws any conclusions from this.

This email list is a place to discuss responses from below, those of the exploited and those involved in struggles against capitalism, state and the multiple crises of our times. Over a 100 radicals from around the world discuss these issues from anti-state and anti-capitalist perspectives and have shared analysis over the last several years. Discussions have covered a range of topics

- **The struggle for land as a central focus of class struggle in an age of resource peaks.**
- **The limitations of ‘clean’ energy and the critique of technological fixes. Ie. Indigenous resistance to windfarms in Mexico to strikes in the German wind sector. Solar panel toxic-waste struggle in China.**
- **‘Green’ capitalism’s ability (or not) to adapt to climate crises and create new forms of accumulation.**
- **The scale of the climate crisis and how to respond as radicals.**
- **Class composition and just-transitions/eco-revolution? Discussion of the ‘meta-industrial class’ consisting of some indigenous, peasants, housewives, subsistence living especially women in this analysis ? Contrasting with a critique of reformist trade-unionism with green edges and shit green jobs.**
- **Critique of Geo-engineering experiments such as ocean fertilisation.**

- **Anarchist and leftist critiques of the 'authoritarian primitivism' of groups like Deep Green Resistance.**
- **Eco-insurrectionism, good and bad!**
- **De-growth, anarchism, radical-left., autonomist Marxist, left-communist, climate-justice, eco-feminist views on ecological-energy struggles.**
- **Anti-extractivist politics and movements against mining and other infrastructure development.**
- **Indigenous notions of 'living well', the critique of development and ecological class struggle.**
- **Climate struggle in times of austerity.**
- **The environmentalism of the poor, China cancer villages, Latin American indigenous resistance against 'eco-socialism'**
- **Fuel poverty – heat waves, cold snaps and housing.**
- **Resource grabs, neo-liberal crisis and emergent 'green' capitalism.**
- **climate hysteria and its use, critique of the greening of hate of the far right and other existing or emergent capitalist trends.**

To join discussion email monkeywrenchdownunder@gmail.com

6 torched vehicles at UKBA crime team building & Tascor transporters smashed

Hidden inside a quiet business park in Portishead, just outside Bristol, is a UK Border Agency office from where an immigration crime team work with police, including launching raids in the south-west. We visited Thursday night into Friday (with the death of anarchist Carlo Giuliani in combat with police during the G8 summit 12 years ago still fresh in our minds) to set fires that damaged the building and burnt 6 vehicles stationed there - 3 cars, 2 blacked-out people carrier vans (known to be used for dawn snatches of immigrant family groups) and 1 large van. The border regime mercenaries draw the attention of our total contempt the same as any other cop does, and now this long arm of the State has felt that we are close and we don't stop.

A couple of weeks earlier, high noon on Sunday 2nd at a Tascor corporation depot at a Cribbs Causeway/Patchway area trading estate, 2 minibuses with barred passenger

windows had their windscreens smashed and multiple dents to the bodywork of the cabs. Tascor (formerly Reliance Secure Task Management) work for the Border Agency and Border Force to 'escort' detainees between immigration prisons and to their deportations, utilizing the consequence-free violence their position furnishes them with such as during the recent forced removals of Marius Betondi and Raul Ally, and are the largest private sector provider of this 'service' worldwide (having taken over these duties in the UK from Group 4 Security in 2011). They also run designated holding rooms and short-term holding facilities throughout the UK as well as for UK border forces in Calais and Coquelles, France.

Capitalism profit greatly from a pool of cheap migrant labor, including known 'illegals' who are even more vulnerable to the bosses' blackmail. The State criminalizes those they decide are non-productive, utilizing poisonous nationalism to further divide the exploited (like the recent wave of hatred against anyone thought to appear 'Muslim') and to win elections. The 'lucky' migrants get to arrive in the slums of alienated Western society and are thrust into competition with other urban poor, the 'unlucky' or unprofitable in deportation prisons, in both cases governed by fear and racialized policing. However this sorting of human bodies doesn't always go as smoothly as planned: mass hungerstrikes in Dutch detention facilities and heavy rioting on the streets of Sweden are recent instances of refusal to submit to such degradation.

We don't want a world where the tyranny of immigration bureaucrats can mean the difference between life and death, and unique beings are categorized and labelled to wring the maximum profit and subordination from us all. We don't want the indignity of every movement being scrutinized for the purposed of social control and enclosure, whether at borders, on the housing estates, in school or at work.

The legend has it that 'we' are lucky to live here, under democratic totalitarianism with some comfortable cages and technological addiction to escape from reality. But infact we are surrounded by depression, divides of wealth and race and gender, devoid of any earth-based self-sufficiency and dependant on the very machine we hate. This machine is only fuelled by rampant exploitation here and largely in the countries that migrants have fled from, creating a disgusting feedback loop as industrial civilization consumes everything in its path. We want to demolish the myth that there is any good place to be within a global system of interconnected misery.

Our struggle is far from the calls for peaceful (re)integration of 'illegals' into this faceless society. We also don't want to set ourselves up as advocates of homogenized groups of migrants, nor to sanctify them all for their specific

oppression. Instead of abstract humanitarian charity, we search for the rebel affinity that may be found with migrants who maybe want more than a different regime, and who breach borders, wound guards and destroy prisons from the Mediterranean to Australia; that may be found in the hearts of those who self-organize, with or without accomplices.

Borders are just one significant expression of the currently dominant order, in a world of divisions both physical and psychological, of walls segregating populations, classes and imaginations. Our attack carries the seeds for another world. One where each and every creature is free to roam as they choose. Our borderless solidarity bursts out like our flames for people struggling for life unchained, for Gabriel Pombo da Silva, the CCF imprisoned members, comrades raided in Belgium, Marco Camenisch, Henry Zegarrundo, the anarchists held in Italy and Denmark, the dignified criminals, lawless fugitives, rebellious migrants and other socially disaffected who arm their rage to fight for liberation.

We would consider this our leaving gift to the UK Border Agency, due to be renamed and reorganized in the future - except it turns out it'll mainly be "the same jobs", "in the same places", "with the same mission". We know that their same regime of exploitation will continue more adapted and integrated, so likewise our war is perpetually against all forms of categorization and control that attempt to hinder free movement and wild life on Earth. Nothing is over, everything continues.

Borderless Solidarity Cell (Informal Anarchist Federation)

Earth and animal liberation prisoners

Walter Bond #37096-013, UsP Marion cMU, POB

1000, Marion, il 62959, Usa. serving 12 years (until 3-21-2021) for the "aIf lonewolf."

Marie Mason #04672-061, FMc carswell, Federal Medical

center, POB 27137, Fort Worth, tX 76127, Usa. serving 21 years and 10 months (until 9-18-2027) for an eIf arson at a University building carrying out genetically modified crop tests and involvement in 12 other eIf actions.

Eric McDavid #16209-097, Fci terminal island, Federal correctional institution, POB 3007, san Pedro, ca 90731, Usa. serving 19 years and 7 months (until 2-10-2023) for

being entrapped and coerced to plan destruction of Us Forest service property, mobile phone masts and power plants. at the point of his arrest no criminal damage had occurred.

Rebecca Rubin #2013001108, columbia county Jail, 901 Port ave., st. helens, Or 97051, Usa. rebecca is accused of being a member of the eIF. she is facing charges of arson and conspiracy for actions that occurred between 1996 and 2001. (Remember not to write to her about her case at all because she is pre-trial.)

Justin Solondz #98291-011, Fci loretto, POB 1000, loretto, Pa 15940, Usa. serving 7 years (until 8-31-2017) for a 2001 anti-biotech arson at University of Washington.

Marco Camenisch, Postfach 3143, ch-8105 regensdorf, switzerland. serving 18 years: ten years for using explosives to destroy electricity pylons leading from nuclear power stations and eight years for the murder of a swiss Border guard whilst on the run.

Viktor Padellaro, Anstalten Kirseberg, Box 3097, 200 22 Malmö, Sweden. sentenced to three years and six months in august 2011 for arson at a McDonald's, sending allegedly threatening letters to AstraZeneca employees and other actions against animal abuse. You can also write emails to be printed out and sent to him: s.gbg.vegaN@gmail.com

Hacktivist accepts non-cooperating Plea

Jeremy Hammond was arrested in March 2012 on federal charges under the computer Fraud and abuse act (cFaa) for leaking information to the whistleblower news site Wikileaks. On May 28, 2013 Jeremy entered a plea agreement to the charge of conspiracy to hack the strategic Forecasting (stratfor) website.

Eco Prisoners, Snared Liberationists And Hostages of the Struggle

stratfor is a corporation that gathers intelligence at the behest of governments and large multinational corporations, targeting activists. Barron's magazine once referred to stratfor as "the shadow cia." the sentencing guideline for this offense is 10 - 15 years in prison. since his jailing he has been denied bail, as well as visitation, resulting from minor jailhouse infractions. he has also been placed in solitary confinement on two separate occasions while awaiting a trial date. sentencing will take place in nYc on september 6. in the meantime, send letters of love and support.

Jeremy Hammond #18729-424, Metropolitan correctional center, 150 Park row, new York, nY 10007

Political Prisoner birthdays

August 4: **Debbie Sims Africa** #006307, sci cambridge springs, 451 Fullerton ave, cambridge springs, Pa, 16403 1238, Usa. Debbie is part of the MOVE 9. MOVE is an ecorevolutionary group for black liberation and in defense of all life. She was arrested along with the father of her children, Mike africa, when she was and 8.5 weeks pregnant. She gave birth to her son in prison.

August 23: **Brian “Jacob” Church** #2012-0519002, POB 089002, chicago, il, 60608, Usa. Brian is one of the three NATO 5 who were targeted by undercover cops prior to the 2012 North Atlantic Treaty Organization summit. he is facing up to 40 years in prison for alleged plans to destroy police cars and attack police stations in Chicago. An international week of solidarity for the nato 5 occurred in May, marking the one-year anniversary of their preemptive arrests. Trial is set for september of this year and they are currently raising funds toward legal defense costs.

September 3: **Steve Murphy** #39013-177, Fci three rivers, POB 4200, three rivers, tX, 78071, Usa. serving 5 years (until 02-25-2014) for an attempted eIF arson on a town house construction site in Pasadena in 2006. he will likely be released into a halfway house in late august.

September 12: **Leonard Peltier** #89637-132, UsP coleman i, Us Penitentiary, POB 1033, coleman, Fl, 33521, Usa. An American Indian Movement activist serving life after being framed for murdering two FBI agents during the 1975 Pine ridge siege. there is currently a clemency campaign underway to free Leonard.

September 12: **Sean Swain** #243205, Mansfield Corrections Institution, POB 788, Mansfield, OH 44901, USA. An anarchist prisoner and former union organizer serving a life sentence for the self-defense killing of a court official’s relative who broke into sean’s home and threatened his life. he ran for governor of Ohio from prison as a Zapatista candidate, and is fighting his conviction by citing the US government’s illegal occupation of native land. his next parole hearing is in 2016.

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Logging could boost fire risk: study

Large-scale logging could increase bushfire risk for Australia's moist mountain ash forests, creating bigger fuel loads and drier, more combustible conditions, new research says.

A world-first study led by Australian National University ecologist Professor David Lindenmayer has found gaps in the forest canopy allow the forest floor to dry out, increasing flammability by as much as 50 per cent in some cases.

The team looked at the impacts of industrial logging in moist forests across the world, including tropical rainforest, North America and Russia's wet conifer forests and mountain ash forests in southern Australia.

Professor Lindenmayer said the study had "huge implications" for future forest management and bushfire control in Australia.

"We can't ignore the risks, particularly in the face of climate change. These trends are occurring in moist forests right across the planet. There are no excuses, no reason to claim Australia's forests are somehow different. We've got to face up to reality and do some serious thinking," he said.

The study, published by the international journal Conservation Letters found logging altered forest fire regimes by changing the amount, type and moisture content of fuels. The paper's four authors include University of Maine conservation biologist Malcolm Hunter and Canadian Forest Service senior research scientist Philip Burton.

Professor Lindenmayer said the team wanted to investigate whether logging made forests more or less fire-prone. "This is a question that gets debated after any big bushfire, and we usually hear all sorts of uninformed opinions from lobby groups. So we said, 'Right, let's do some serious science.' We looked at moist forests because fires usually occur at a relatively lower frequency than dry forests."

The team found logging changed moist forest microclimates, drying out understorey vegetation and leaf litter. Roads built for logging access also increased the number of ignition points for fires, and the area of forest edge susceptible to drying.

The study said research published almost 15 years ago, found clear-felling of moist forests in southern Australia led to "the development of dense stands of regrowth saplings that created more available fuel" than if the forests were not clear-felled. Professor Lindenmayer, who has spent more than 30 years doing research in the mountain ash forests near Marysville, said decades of logging had "created a legacy of ecosystem disturbance that will be felt for centuries"

ODD Support Group

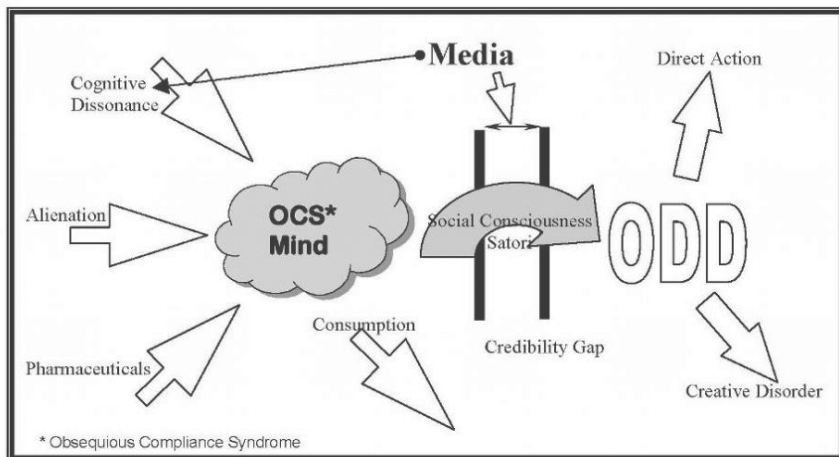
What is ODD?

Oppositional Disobedience Disorder (ODD) is a diagnosis described by the Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders edition 5 (DSM-V) as an ongoing pattern of guided disobedience and hostilely defiant behaviour toward authority figures which goes beyond the bounds of normal behaviour. Those suffering from this disorder may appear stubborn and agitated. This disorder is similar in nature to Oppositional Defiance Disorder which manifests in children and per-adolescents but differs in that the concerns that guide the pattern of behaviour are often quite rational and ethical. Sufferers often exhibit a wide spectrum of symptoms including excessive, often persistent anger, disregard for authority, an enhanced social conscience and habits and concerns beyond the norm.

What causes ODD?

Typically the Media creates a Credibility Gap which dissuades the Obsequious Compliance Syndrome Mind from understanding their involvement in the world. Cognitive Dissonance (created by the Media), Alienation and Pharmaceuticals affect the Mind leading to Consumption. An increase in Social Consciousness bridges the Credibility Gap created by the Media and leads to the full spectrum of Oppositional Disobedience Disorders which can only be alleviated by Direct Action and Creative Disorder. Social consciousness can be developed by experiencing: segregation,

police brutality, prejudice, injustice, political corruption, corporate greed, environmental destruction, human rights violations, war, trauma, etc.



What is the DSM?

The DSM 5 (Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders V) is the latest in a long line of books that attempt to catalog the varieties of Mental Illness that exist. Past editions of the DSM have categorized homosexuality as a Mental Illness and reinforced the use of hysterectomies for women with anxiety disorders. What will this edition hold? Whether it's old hokum or new bull the DSM pigeon-holes people into artificial categories often based upon a scattering of symptoms. Dysfunctions with quite different root causes can end up being treated the same way, and often improperly.

The DSM series of manuals makes it simple for psychiatrists to “diagnose” “illnesses” based upon simple check lists and then use the drug suggestions provided. It reinforces the worst stereo types about certain conditions and serves to pathologize personalities and social differences. The DSM fails to take into account the fullest variety of human behaviour and can be misused to almost any effect; it is one more basis for the authority of the psychiatric system. As mentioned, previous editions of the DSM have been responsible for a wide range of misdiagnoses and violations of Human Rights. What's next? Maybe Oppositional Disobedience Disorder will be the next “disease” to sweep the globe... <http://oddsupportgroup.weebly.com/about-odd.html>

From Land Grab to Food Sovereignty by Andreas Exner

Talk given at the Cross Border Experience conference in Ljubljana on 27.10.2011.

In my talk I will raise the question which scope the current crisis has and will ask if limited reforms for instance of the agricultural regime are enough or if a complete system change is necessary. I will indeed argue that such a change is necessary and anyway inevitable. So the question is rather which other system of production will be established and how successful social struggles will be in this process of transition.

A multiple crisis

Quite obviously, the capitalist world-system has entered a multiple crisis: (1) energy security, (2) climate stability, (3) food production, (4) profits and (5) political legitimacy all are at stake to various degrees. Even in the view of the mainstream it has become clear, that the financial crisis has turned into an economic crisis threatening political legitimacy in many countries. Yet at the same time, other aspects of the multiple crisis are ignored in the dominant view of the situation. So the food crisis has been put rather in the background, despite the recent catastrophe at the Horn of Africa, and we hardly read any reports on the increasing social misery all over the world. Furthermore, there is not much talk about climate change at the moment. Finally, neither mass media nor mass consciousness or the academic community, let alone the political class are fully aware that peak oil – the maximum of global oil production – might already be reached or will be reached in the near future. Hardly anyone draws any conclusions from this fact.

For social movements, a crucial question is: How are these crises perceived by different sections of the population and by different interest groups? I can only speculate. On the one hand, newspaper reports and television broadcasts mostly deal with different aspects of the multiple crisis as if they were unrelated to each other. So one is left with the impression that phenomena of crisis are accumulating just by chance and maybe this is also the way most people perceive the crisis: a strange flush of bad news.

On the other hand, political concepts come up which try to couple profit making with an alleged solution to the ecological and social crisis. The basis for such concepts is a certain understanding that different aspects of crisis are closely related to each other and that a solution thus has to tackle different problems at the same time.

One of the latest updates within this discourse of socio-ecological modernization in view of the multiple crisis is the Green New Deal. This concept, which was developed by a British think tank and seems to be the most elaborate of its kind, promotes investments in green technology and claims that this will resolve the ecological and the economic crisis both at the same time. By generating green investment opportunities for capital that is threatened by devaluation in the enfolding crisis of the financial sector, the Green New Deal suggests, unemployment will be reduced and incomes secured.

This discourse of “win-win” again appears in the debate on the global land grab, where the World Bank, but also UN-organizations and a couple of NGO try to legitimize the ongoing acquisition of agricultural lands as a “win-win”-situation for capital, consumers, peasants and the environment. “Win-win” will materialize, one is told, if investors would set up voluntary guidelines, if land markets would function “properly” (as they are saying) and if existing legal regulations would be respected. More specifically, the acquisition of agricultural land shall (1) increase food production, (2) improve the living conditions of rural populations, (3) mitigate climate change by a growth in agrofuels and (4) generate profits for investors that are desperately in search of safe havens for their capital.

“Win-win” or systemic crisis?

I would argue that we are far away from any “win-win”-situation but have entered the beginning of the terminal crisis of capitalism – at least as we know it. All those aspects of the multiple crisis rather point towards a situation, where the state is less and less capable to organize stability for the sake of profits and capital growth. Class society is only stable if the ruling class gets the consent of the dominated. In the current crisis, it is not only profits that are at stake, but the whole framework of social domination, and especially the core of hegemony, the consent of the dominated. Yet it seems to become increasingly difficult for the state to formulate a way towards a new hegemonial project that would (1) reintegrate those who are thrown into unemployment and misery on a global scale and (2) suppress by force those who would have to be excluded from such a social contract.

The Fordist model of economic growth, of increasing welfare services, mass employment and mass consumption was such a project. It gave way to the Postfordist growth model of the neoliberal era since the end of the 1970s, where the use of force began to replace hegemony. Left movements were crushed, trade unions weakened and the living standard of the masses was lowered. This neoliberal

model can be seen as a “counterrevolution” against the growing movements of discontent that had undermined the Fordist growth regime and the hegemony it was able to organize. The crisis of Fordism had culminated in a fall of the general rate of profit and in a weakening of the state. Neoliberalism solved both crises of the ruling class for about thirty years.

While in the Postfordist growth model repression was more important than it had been in Fordism, it still was able to formulate a sort of perspective for the masses. Otherwise it could hardly be so stable. One strategy was to incorporate demands that were put forward in the course of rebellion that started around 1968.

Emancipatory demands were incorporated in such a way as to be functional for profit making. So the call for creativity, flexibility and self-responsibility was turned into an intensification of exploitation. Postfordism managed to recuperate, to reintegrate the desire for freedom in terms of market relations, in terms of commodities. If you want fun, buy it. If you are looking for freedom, start a business. If you want to be independent from your husband, find a job.

Another strategy consisted in enabling low wage earners to finance consumption and acquire property on credit, especially in the US. This model had its expiry date built in. The crash of the mortgage bubble in the US in 2008 was the end of the Postfordist way of organizing consent.

Imperial lifestyle

A crucial factor for both the Fordist and the Postfordist growth model was the availability of cheap and seemingly endless resources, first of all fossil fuels. Fossil fuels enabled to increase the productivity of labour and thus accommodated the maximization of profits with increasing real wages. The working class could consume more at lower prices and profits rose at the same time. The enormous growth of capital after WWII would simply have been impossible without fossil resources.

The scope of the changes that fossil resources entailed can be most clearly seen in agriculture. While at the turn of the 19th to the 20th century, staple foods flowed from the periphery of the capitalist world-system to the center, after WWII, fossil fuels led to a complete reversal of this pattern. While colonialism was necessary to organize these flows until WWII, and in doing so pushed millions into hunger, this strategy became more of a burden, as oil and gas started to increase productivity in agriculture and anticolonial resistance rose. Thus, the increasing importance of fossil

fuels promoted the political decolonization in Africa, as influential British bureaucrats argued in the 1950s.

In the course of the “fossilization” of agriculture, petrochemical products reduced the demand for organic fibres produced in the South such as sisal. Producers of cotton, for example, were brought in competition with the petrochemical industry and increasingly cheap synthetic fibres.

Oil started to be used to fuel agricultural machines and irrigation pumps, gas became the raw material for synthetic nitrogen fertilizer, and chemical pesticides produced of oil further increased yields. These three fields of the application of fossil resources enhanced the productivity of Northern agriculture enormously.

This enabled the North, especially the US, to dump grain in the form of so called food aid in the global South and to make Europe independent of the direct plunder of agricultural resources in the South as for instance the British did in India. Food aid served two goals at the same time: it (1) eroded the capacity for food self sufficiency in the South and (2) mitigated the risk of hunger revolts. Yet food aid was not enough to contain social struggles that increased after WWII in the South. Threatened by a series of “peasant wars” – as Eric Wolf has called them – and the prospect of communism spreading in the Third World, the US felt forced to establish the fossil fuel based agriculture also in the South and called it a “Green Revolution”. Yet this technological revolution not only increased yields, but also competition between the producers in the South, and their terms of trade further worsened, together with their economic importance.

Trying to resolve the profit crisis of the 1970s by cheapening the costs for energy and raw materials – besides other measures –, Postfordism started to increase the exploitation of the South again. This was done in the frame of so called structural adjustments which forced heavily indebted countries to earn foreign exchange by pushing their exports, especially of raw materials and agricultural products.

Thus the consent of the working class to the Postfordist growth model was increasingly built upon a lifestyle that Ulrich Brand has called an “imperial lifestyle”. Under Postfordist conditions, the stagnation and partial decline of real wages could only be compensated to a certain extent by cheapening food, broadening the range of industrial food stuffs, and cheapening other consumption goods by cheapening the resources that were used to produce them. Part of the “imperial lifestyle” was the outsourcing of social and ecological damages to the global South and to future

generations. Because outsourcing has its limits, those damages currently begin to appear also in the North, as a global warming and the depletion of fossil resources.

The strategy of fabricating consent by way of an “imperial lifestyle” is probably the deeper reason why it is so hard to change the current resource regime away from industrial food, fossil resources and the exploitation of the South. And it now leads to a reversal of agricultural resource flows, and at the same time, to a shift back to a new attempt of recolonization – yet under conditions that very much differ from the situation in the 19th century.

Land as the main resource and field of class struggle after peak oil

Very briefly put, the end of cheap fossil resources, starting with peak oil, is probably also the end of capitalism – at least as we know it. Capital developed in such a close association with fossil resources, first coal, than oil, because they are technically superior to renewable energies. Fossil resources had for the most time a high Energy Return on Energy Invested, their energy density is high, they can easily be stored and transported, they are not subject to variation of supply and were cheap until recently.

Renewable energies, on the other hand, are rather expensive. Except for biomass, their supply is variable, transport is difficult, the Energy Return on Energy Invested is on average lower as it was for fossil fuels, storage is costly and relies on battery technologies that need scarce metals. Some of the renewable energy technologies, especially photovoltaics, also depend on scarce metals.

Most importantly, all of them are limited in the end by the availability of suitable land area. A special role in this respect has biomass. Although biomass can only substitute oil in transport to a minor degree in the form of agrofuels, it is the only realistic option for trying to prolong (a bit longer) the current mobility regime of motorized individual traffic after peak oil. This makes biomass the main pillar of the restructuring of the energy system under capitalist conditions and against the backdrop of the “imperial lifestyle”. Unfortunately, biomass also has the largest demands on land area of all the renewable resources. Because the global middle class, that was growing until now, demands more meat and milk products, trying to adopt the western-patriarchal food mix, and also because world population grows, more agricultural land is needed. At the same time, the productivity of agriculture will decline after peak oil and peak gas and even more so after peak phosphorus, which is to be expected between 2020 and 2030. Phosphorus is crucial for highly

productive agriculture. Additionally, agriculture probably comes under pressure due to climate change, especially in Africa.

Fossil fuels had replaced timber as the most important energy resource since the 19th century. They were a kind of “subterranean forest”, an expression coined by Rolf Peter Sieferle. Now, that this “forest” is nearly cut down by half, above-ground forests came under pressure again, both literally and metaphorically, because of a growing demand for land to produce agrofuels.

With capital trying to find safe havens and with states preparing a shift back to an energy system centered on biomass after peak oil, agriculture becomes the central field of class struggle. This dynamic is aggravated by offshore-farming that is pursued for instance by states in the Middle East or by South Korea. Offshore-farming is sought as a remedy against volatile markets and rising food prices, in order to mitigate social unrest at home.

Fusing the sovereign with sovereignty

In capitalism, most people are not only deprived of the means of production, but also of the means to control their decisions as a community. The community of mankind appears in an alienated form, as the apparatus of the state, which seems to float above the heads of the people, or seems to exist in a distance to them. Thus, the state can act – and frequently does – against the declared will of the majority. The state is certainly not a neutral vehicle or a machine that could be reformed in order to find solutions to the crisis. We must not ignore the state, but the aim should be to integrate it into society, to do away with it.

In such a perspective, it makes perfect sense to see three sorts of sovereignty entering the debate on alternatives to the multiple crisis: food sovereignty, energy sovereignty, and land sovereignty. Because people (the ultimate sovereign) are dispossessed of their sovereignty, which appears now as a separate entity, the state – which increasingly acts against us –, it is important to reclaim sovereignty.

And this can in the end only be done practically, by occupying energy firms, by refusing to pay rents or clear debts for housing, by reclaiming land and protecting the commons, which are still so important in Africa, by building up energy cooperatives,

community gardens and community supported agriculture, and also by destroying what destroys us as the wisdom of the 1970s had it.

For the most part, those “indignados” and wall street occupiers, who are organizing manifestations of their rage, they do not seem to be outraged yet by the very fact that they have to buy their own produce as a working class from capitalists, who even make a profit out of their position. They do not seem to be outraged that as wage labourers, they do not have the least to say what to produce in what manner and for whom, and that they have to sell themselves in order to survive. They do not seem to be outraged, that money separates them from each other as they were complete strangers, not really human beings. They do not seem to be outraged so much that their sovereignty is expropriated by political parties and the state than that the state – an entity, which is not them – favors capitalists.

The multiple crisis will only be overcome in a positive sense, with a better society and a good life for all, if sovereignty and the sovereign are fused again. There is not much use of demanding an abstract “Democracy now!” as a lot of people seem to be content to do until now. Switzerland is not communism. Solidarity cannot be bought. Our lifetime is not for sale. The way is not to demand more referenda, the way instead is to create radical visions, large perspectives that breath the air of freedom and peace, which can only be gained beyond markets, capital and the state.



An Australian anarchist contemplates the revolt in Turkey

One week on, what's it mean? June 8, 2013 by David K

I spent yesterday afternoon walking around Besiktas, Taksim and in Gezi Park, surveying the scene. Besiktas is still full of cops, and the footpaths On Dolmenahce Cd have been completely denuded of pavers and fences – not sure if they were all used up by the riots on the evenings of the 1-4 June, or the cops have removed them as a precautionary measure. Taksim now has about ten times the average number of food vendors selling corn, simit, cigkofte, kofte, kebab, etc., and there'd be no less than twenty vendors selling spraypaint, Guy Fawkes masks, useless paper 'gas' masks and swimming goggles between Taksim and midway down Istiklal. Gezi Park is doing the best impersonation of an Occupy site possible, down to the library, beanbags, tent city and people getting drunk in public.

So four nights after nearly getting myself killed – you don't all get the password, but in summary, I was teargassed with both CS and CR gas and shot with a 37mm gas grenade at a range of about 20m - I have to ask myself if it was worth it.

The answer requires a complex discussion. My view of what's happening in Taksim hasn't really changed since I first wrote about it) – that it is basically a middle class movement caused by the shock realisation of what the State does and how it operates, suddenly discovered by a class that has never had anything other than abstract, or at the most, financial and intellectual problems with the State in the past. The movement has spurred offshoot protests around the country, with dozens of cities having some kind of altercation with the police and the media. If anything, it seems that Ankara and Antakya have had worse police violence than Taksim or Besiktas has.

But what's happening in Taksim Square itself isn't much different to what happens on a May 1st protest – or, at least, one that isn't a warzone – where trade unions and minor political parties shout a lot, hand out leaflets and debate various issues of the day with one another, though mostly intraparty discussions, rather than across the board ones. It's just taking a week or more for everyone to get bored and go home.

What's happening in Gezi Park, though, is new to Turkey – but that doesn't mean it's good, or that I like the look of it. Most of what's happening in Gezi Park is what people can and would do in their homes, but now it's happening in a public space.

There are political discussions, there is music playing, there are people networking, there are people making out, people sharing food, ideas and feelings, plus tourists and police informants. I think this supports my previous analysis that this wasn't about environmentalism (which is still being parlayed around the media), but about the use of public space, and the sudden explosion of interest in Gezi Park as a forum for these activities is a classic display of people only caring when something is about to be lost – I call this stormfront politics, the opposite of fairweather politics. Rather than hold meetings in their homes on a weekly or daily basis, construct a reading library and encourage people to visit, or host dinner parties and give out free food, people do it reactively. When the well is threatened, people suddenly care to carry the water daily.

But the majority of people in the Park now don't even fall into this category of Occupy-like protesters. Rather, they're tourists. Not necessarily people from overseas (though they certainly make their presence known), but rather people who had no intention of coming to Gezi Park or Taksim when the violence was occurring, but now that's over (for now), they're willing to come along and have their photograph taken next to a burned-out cop car. We had our share of these at S11 in 2000 in Melbourne, when rich kids trammed into the site from the eastern suburbs, insinuated themselves and their Country Road jerseys into the two day old picket lines for a photo opportunity and then sauntered off to Caulfield before things got hairy. I won't disguise my complete contempt for these people, and in the last few days they've been the majority of people in the Park.

This echoes my experiences at S11 in a broader sense. Most of us were shocked when the Victorian Police beat the bejesus out of us on September 12th, even after they beat us down on the 11th. The public outrage was intense. I remember fondly the TAZ that the barricade zone was, where we had practical autonomy from police and state and economy, which is what is present in the Park right now. But, thirteen years later, nobody in the broader public remembers it even happened, just as the same broader public will not really remember Occupy in ten years, either. As I said previously, this is part of the Spectacle, and the Spectacle has the memory of a five year old without her Ritalin. Occupy Taksim doesn't even remember that Occupy Wall St petered out into confusion, indifference and a return to work, it just remembers the grandiose sloganeering, the social media information barrage, the dent it made by being a trending topic on Twitter. And that's what's being emulated here – the grandiose. The case can probably be made that this is the manifestation of the Turkish emergent, Euromericanised middle class youth's narcissism, that Occupy

Gezi is a coming-of-age party for Turkey joining the rest of the West. And, hence, no Turkish Spring. It seems like Atatürk's dream of a secular, modern, European republic is coming true in this Turkish subculture, despite Erdoğan's best efforts to have the Western economic benefits with the Eastern cultural practices in an uneasy synthesis.

So was this worth all the risks? Probably not. I can't help but feel that I fought hard to keep the police out of Taksim so people richer than me can eat kofte in relative safety while watching drunk teenagers flirt in a park. And, despite the mainstream media's idea that in Besiktas we were trying to invade the PM's office (which is suicide, as it falls in a legislated zone where the use of live ammunition on trespassers doesn't require authorisation), the fighting in Besiktas prevented the police from hitting Taksim by the most direct and simple route. The harder and longer the fights on Dolmabahce went, the fewer cops there were to raid Taksim and the more difficult route they had to take to get there. So I stood on a barricade getting gassed to prevent cops clearing out Taksim and Gezi. Firstly, because even though I have little love for the majority of people in the Park, I'd rather they were there getting drunk and singing yet another version of Bella Ciao than being gassed by fascist cretins. Secondly, I'd rather have mislead and irritating middle class brats having a party than cops and the AKP getting their way arbitrarily. And a third motivation for the majority of people on the barricades in Dolmabahce, though it doesn't really include me, is that they love to fight with cops. And it's not surprising. Turkish police are arseholes and Turkish daily life can be enraging.

But there's a broader issue that needs analysis here, which is one of class roles. There's no question about the class relationships involved in the two camps present in the two parts of this protest in Istanbul. The people in Gezi Park are middle class, as I've repeatedly stated. The people in Taksim Square are mostly trade unionists or Parti members, who are largely the managerial sub-class of the working class, or the slumming or guilt-ridden middle class. The people who were fighting in Besiktas were mostly working class. They have the heavy physiques of labourers, used to moving large blocks of concrete, and who knew how to disassemble a building site in minutes, who knew how to drive stolen trucks and excavators and pull up pavers in a moment, because that's the way they've made a living in the past. That aren't bothered by tear gas and know where to get and which mask to buy because they did their time in the army because their parents can't afford to send them to university to defer enlistment indefinitely. And, of course, that they know Dolmabahce

intimately because they're the fans of Besiktas futbol club, which is Istanbul's version of Collingwood. Many of these guys are the Carsi Ultras.

I'm not saying that there weren't middle class people in Besiktas, but the fact I couldn't find an English speaker most of the night tells you something of the demographic there, whereas the yoga classes happening every morning in Taksim are in English, with an American accent.

The poor people are voluntarily going to the barricades to help the rich people stay safe on the top of the hill, and have taken their rightful place as the barrier between State and middle class without the middle class even asking them to do so. This unconscious repetition of class roles illustrates most clearly that this event isn't challenging some of the deepest elements of Turkish society, which are an ingrained respect for class differentiation and demagoguery (the ubiquitous Ataturk flags outnumber any other logo three to one), but rather just triggering them as usual. This is a highly limited form of war, which is always an extension of politics – there are people on the front lines who couldn't care less and don't even know the political realities involved or why they're there, and there are people behind the scenes manipulating and exploiting the situation at the expense of everyone else.

So my motivations in taking part in the riots in Besiktas are mixed, but I'm suspicious I simply did what I was born to do – get shot at by someone so somebody else could eat comfortably, which is a critical failure on my part. Was it worth it? It doesn't look like it so far.

The rise of a new extractivism and the plea for degrowth

Posted by Nick on October 16th, 2012

By Giorgos Kallis.

We thought that the “commodity frontiers”, the new mines that we dig on earth to take out the oil, gold, uranium or copper that feeds our consumer economies, are somewhere else; in the “South”, far from us, in the jungles of Amazonian or the desserts of Southern Africa. Well, the frontiers have now come back, next to our homes.

In my country Greece the response to the crisis and the quest for growth to pay off debts is a new, ugly sort of “extractivism” similar to that of Latin American countries, and unlike anything the country has seen ever before. The police used

plastic bullets for the first time in Greece to put off demonstrators in the new gold mines opened in the peninsula of Chalkidiki in Northern Greece, previously known only for its long shores, pine forests and marvelous beaches. Plans for gold mines and new exploration contracts are signed as I write this piece. The Aegean is the new El Dorado, and spokesmen, from right and left, seriously argue that the future of Greece lies in its oil, soon to be discovered in the deep waters of the Aegean. Never mind that the Aegean with its blue seas and the mosaic of islands is the cradle of Greek civilization and the motor of its tourist economy.

Some wonder: how come and we had all these resources and we never knew it. Were we sitting on top of so much gold and oil and never cared to use it?

Let me be more academic here and propose a theory that may explain what is happening in Greece. I propose that this rise of a new extractivism is directly linked to the crisis, and in effect what we are observing today in Greece (and soon in Spain, Portugal and other parts of Europe) is the same that we saw in indebted Latin American and African countries back in the 80s and 90s. It is not that Greece has today more resources than it had before. It is that the economic crisis reduced the cost of extraction and made accessible resources that previously were not. The crisis lowered costs by:

- i) reducing the cost of labour (devaluation of salaries and of the value of health of workers) used in extraction activities;
- ii) reducing the opportunity costs of extraction;
- iii) reducing social resistance and the costs this brings through the delay of projects;
- iv) reducing the monetary cost of externalities and the monetary value of impacts ('the poor sell cheap' - health, visual or environmental impacts are no longer that highly valued).

Resources that were considered out of limits in Greece, for social or cost reasons, from gold and copper in the north of the country, to oil in the Aegean, are as a result now under a frenzy of exploration and development.

This provides evidence for the claim that economic crises are necessary for creating new exploitable territories when limits have otherwise been reached. They achieve it by the devaluation of economic and social capital.

My pessimistic conclusion is therefore: facing its limits the growth economy destroys what already exists by devaluing it and thereby creates fresh opportunities for accumulation. From the Second World War, to the crisis of the 70s, to the crises in Latin America and Asia, this is the repeated pattern. Only by escaping this growth economy and changing its institutions can we ever hope to find a way out of this vicious cycle of frenzied, meaningless expansion and bottomless destruction._____

NO MINES, NO MASTERS! ECO-CLASS WAR! RESOURCES

- **Environmental archives of Libertarian (anti-state) communists**
 - <http://libcom.org/tags/environment>
 - <http://www.delicious.com/dr.woooo>
 - **Eco-insurrectionism** <http://325.nostate.net/?cat=7>
 - **Latin American indigenous struggles against infrastructure projects**
 - <http://upsidedownworld.org>
 - **Defending the fourth world!** <http://ww4report.com>
 - **Autonomeia** <http://interactivist.autonomeia.org/taxonomy/term/31>
 - **RTF – European mass land squats network** <http://reclaimthefields.org/>
 - **BC Blackout, anti-colonial and anti-capitalist opposition to pipelines.**
 - **“ an informal group of Anarchists who identify with insurrectional subsistence. Eco War is Class War. Our self motivated practice and theory of insurrectional subsistence is relevant to weaving the currents between the eco war and the class war. ”** <http://bcblackout.wordpress.com/>
 - <http://coalactionscotland.org.uk/>
 - **Root Force: Promotes anti-infrastructure analysis and action, based on the recognition that infrastructure expansion is a weak point of the system...**
 - <http://www.rootforce.org/>
 - **Contra Information Euro news** <http://en.contrainfo.espiv.net/>
 - **communisation, the struggle against work and class struggle beyond workers identity...** <http://endnotes.org.uk>
 - <http://news.infoshop.org/>
 - <http://disaccords.wordpress.com>
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Pentagon bracing for public dissent over climate and energy shocks

NSA Prism is motivated in part by fears that environmentally-linked disasters could spur anti-government activism

US domestic surveillance has targeted anti-fracking activists across the country.
Photograph: Les Stone/REUTERS

Nafeez Ahmed

Top secret US National Security Agency (NSA) documents disclosed by the Guardian have shocked the world with revelations of a comprehensive US-based surveillance system with direct access to Facebook, Apple, Google, Microsoft and other tech giants. New Zealand court records suggest that data harvested by the NSA's Prism system has been fed into the Five Eyes intelligence alliance whose members also include the UK, Canada, Australia and New Zealand.

But why have Western security agencies developed such an unprecedented capacity to spy on their own domestic populations? Since the 2008 economic crash, security agencies have increasingly spied on political activists, especially environmental groups, on behalf of corporate interests. This activity is linked to the last decade of US defence planning, which has been increasingly concerned by the risk of civil unrest at home triggered by catastrophic events linked to climate change, energy shocks or economic crisis - or all three.

Just last month, unilateral changes to US military laws formally granted the Pentagon extraordinary powers to intervene in a domestic "emergency" or "civil disturbance":

"Federal military commanders have the authority, in extraordinary emergency circumstances where prior authorization by the President is impossible and duly constituted local authorities are unable to control the situation, to engage temporarily in activities that are necessary to quell large-scale, unexpected civil disturbances."

Other documents show that the "extraordinary emergencies" the Pentagon is worried about include a range of environmental and related disasters.

In 2006, the US National Security Strategy warned that:

"Environmental destruction, whether caused by human behavior or cataclysmic mega-disasters such as floods, hurricanes, earthquakes, or tsunamis. Problems of this scope may overwhelm the capacity of local authorities to respond, and may even overtax national militaries, requiring a larger international response."

Two years later, the Department of Defense's (DoD) Army Modernisation Strategy described the arrival of a new "era of persistent conflict" due to competition for "depleting natural resources and overseas markets" fuelling "future resource wars over water, food and energy." The report predicted a resurgence of:

"... anti-government and radical ideologies that potentially threaten government stability."

In the same year, a report by the US Army's Strategic Studies Institute warned that a series of domestic crises could provoke large-scale civil unrest. The path to "disruptive domestic shock" could include traditional threats such as deployment of WMDs, alongside "catastrophic natural and human disasters" or "pervasive public health emergencies" coinciding with "unforeseen economic collapse." Such crises could lead to "loss of functioning political and legal order" leading to "purposeful domestic resistance or insurgency...

"DoD might be forced by circumstances to put its broad resources at the disposal of civil authorities to contain and reverse violent threats to domestic tranquility. Under the most extreme circumstances, this might include use of military force against hostile groups inside the United States. Further, DoD would be, by necessity, an essential enabling hub for the continuity of political authority in a multi-state or nationwide civil conflict or disturbance."

That year, the Pentagon had begun developing a 20,000 strong troop force who would be on-hand to respond to "domestic catastrophes" and civil unrest - the programme was reportedly based on a 2005 homeland security strategy which emphasised "preparing for multiple, simultaneous mass casualty incidents."

The following year, a US Army-funded RAND Corp study called for a US force presence specifically to deal with civil unrest.

Such fears were further solidified in a detailed 2010 study by the US Joint Forces Command - designed to inform "joint concept development and experimentation

throughout the Department of Defense" - setting out the US military's definitive vision for future trends and potential global threats. Climate change, the study said, would lead to increased risk of:

"... tsunamis, typhoons, hurricanes, tornadoes, earthquakes and other natural catastrophes... Furthermore, if such a catastrophe occurs within the United States itself - particularly when the nation's economy is in a fragile state or where US military bases or key civilian infrastructure are broadly affected - the damage to US security could be considerable."

The study also warned of a possible shortfall in global oil output by 2015:

"A severe energy crunch is inevitable without a massive expansion of production and refining capacity. While it is difficult to predict precisely what economic, political, and strategic effects such a shortfall might produce, it surely would reduce the prospects for growth in both the developing and developed worlds. Such an economic slowdown would exacerbate other unresolved tensions."

That year the DoD's Quadrennial Defense Review seconded such concerns, while recognising that "climate change, energy security, and economic stability are inextricably linked."

Also in 2010, the Pentagon ran war games to explore the implications of "large scale economic breakdown" in the US impacting on food supplies and other essential services, as well as how to maintain "domestic order amid civil unrest."

Speaking about the group's conclusions at giant US defence contractor Booz Allen Hamilton's conference facility in Virginia, Lt Col. Mark Elfendahl - then chief of the Joint and Army Concepts Division - highlighted homeland operations as a way to legitimise the US military budget:

"An increased focus on domestic activities might be a way of justifying whatever Army force structure the country can still afford."

Two months earlier, Elfendahl explained in a DoD roundtable that future planning was needed:

"Because technology is changing so rapidly, because there's so much uncertainty in the world, both economically and politically, and because the threats are so adaptive and networked, because they live within the populations in many cases."

The 2010 exercises were part of the US Army's annual Unified Quest programme which more recently, based on expert input from across the Pentagon, has explored the prospect that "ecological disasters and a weak economy" (as the "recovery won't take root until 2020") will fuel migration to urban areas, ramping up social tensions in the US homeland as well as within and between "resource-starved nations."

NSA whistleblower Edward Snowden was a computer systems administrator for Booz Allen Hamilton, where he directly handled the NSA's IT systems, including the Prism surveillance system. According to Booz Allen's 2011 Annual Report, the corporation has overseen Unified Quest "for more than a decade" to help "military and civilian leaders envision the future."

The latest war games, the report reveals, focused on "detailed, realistic scenarios with hypothetical 'roads to crisis'", including "homeland operations" resulting from "a high-magnitude natural disaster" among other scenarios, in the context of:

"... converging global trends [which] may change the current security landscape and future operating environment... At the end of the two-day event, senior leaders were better prepared to understand new required capabilities and force design requirements to make homeland operations more effective."

It is therefore not surprising that the increasing privatisation of intelligence has coincided with the proliferation of domestic surveillance operations against political activists, particularly those linked to environmental and social justice protest groups.

Department of Homeland Security documents released in April prove a "systematic effort" by the agency "to surveil and disrupt peaceful demonstrations" linked to Occupy Wall Street, according to the Partnership for Civil Justice Fund (PCJF).

Similarly, FBI documents confirmed "a strategic partnership between the FBI, the Department of Homeland Security and the private sector" designed to produce intelligence on behalf of "the corporate security community." A PCJF spokesperson remarked that the documents show "federal agencies functioning as a de facto intelligence arm of Wall Street and Corporate America." In particular, domestic surveillance has systematically targeted peaceful environment activists including anti-fracking activists across the US, such as the Gas Drilling Awareness Coalition, Rising Tide North America, the People's Oil & Gas Collaborative, and Greenpeace. Similar trends are at play in the UK, where the case of undercover policeman Mark

Kennedy revealed the extent of the state's involvement in monitoring the environmental direct action movement.

A University of Bath study citing the Kennedy case, and based on confidential sources, found that a whole range of corporations - such as McDonald's, Nestle and the oil major Shell, "use covert methods to gather intelligence on activist groups, counter criticism of their strategies and practices, and evade accountability."

Indeed, Kennedy's case was just the tip of the iceberg - internal police documents obtained by the Guardian in 2009 revealed that environment activists had been routinely categorised as "domestic extremists" targeting "national infrastructure" as part of a wider strategy tracking protest groups and protestors.

Superintendent Steve Pearl, then head of the National Extremism Tactical Coordination Unit (Nectu), confirmed at that time how his unit worked with thousands of companies in the private sector. Nectu, according to Pearl, was set up by the Home Office because it was "getting really pressured by big business - pharmaceuticals in particular, and the banks." He added that environmental protestors were being brought "more on the radar." The programme continues today, despite police acknowledgements that environmentalists have not been involved in "violent acts."

The Pentagon knows that environmental, economic and other crises could provoke widespread public anger toward government and corporations in coming years. The revelations on the NSA's global surveillance programmes are just the latest indication that as business as usual creates instability at home and abroad, and as disillusionment with the status quo escalates, Western publics are being increasingly viewed as potential enemies that must be policed by the state. Dr Nafeez Ahmed is executive director of the Institute for Policy Research & Development and author of A User's Guide to the Crisis of Civilisation: And How to Save It among other books. Follow him on Twitter @nafeezahmed

